

1 March 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Human Rights PRM Meeting, 28 February, 4:00 PM

The following issues were discussed:

1. Procedure - Ms. Tuchman stated that she is committed to providing Brzezinski with a PRM draft on Friday, 4 March, and that the PRM would be distributed in final form next week to member agencies. She will attempt to get her final draft to us by 2 March but hopes to avoid further changes.
2. NSC Draft vs State Department Draft - The two State Representatives, Derian and Vogelesang, attempted to persuade Ms. Tuchman to substitute the State draft (see attachment) for the NSC version. They took the position that we should avoid trying to define human rights, but rather outline a general approach and an action program. Tuchman took the position that some definition of the basic human rights involved was necessary and she made it clear that she was not prepared to accept the State draft, but would make changes in the NSC draft based on the discussion at this meeting.
3. Third World Reaction - Baker of State and Birnbaum of AID emphasized that third world countries are more concerned with economic rights than they are with civil rights and that our approach would have to take their point of view into account. Birnbaum went on to stress that cutting off economic aid was not necessarily the best way of improving human rights performance and he used as an example of what could be done the progress that has been made by quiet persuasion on the population problem.
4. Problem of Conflicting Interests - Erb of Treasury made the point that in a number of cases our own national security interests might be in conflict with pressure to improve human rights performance of individual countries and he urged that some consideration of this problem be included



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in the redraft. He specifically called for the establishment of some procedure whereby the issue of human rights could be introduced into the decision-making process so that a conscious decision could be made between competing U.S. interests.

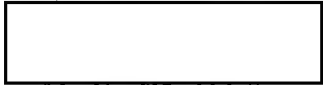
5. Existing Human Rights Agreement, Charters and Conventions - Goldklang of Justice stressed that the U.S. is a party to a number of overlapping international agreements affecting human rights, including the UN Charter, the Genocide Treaty, the OAS Agreement on Human Rights, the Helsinki Declaration, etc. He pointed out that the legal basis for taking action in a specific case would depend upon what agreements have been ratified by the country in question.

6. Communist vs Non-Communist Countries - There was an inconclusive discussion of the need for making a distinction between Communist and non-Communist countries in our policy approach. Derian argued strongly against such a distinction but Tuchman and the majority seem to feel that it was necessary to draw this line.

7. Intelligence Contribution - Tuchman felt that a section of the PRM should specifically call for an intelligence contribution and she indicated she would introduce such a paragraph into the redraft. Baker of State and I pointed out that the CIA Stations did contribute to the Embassy reporting to Congress on the human rights situation as required by law.

8. Belgrade Conference - There was general agreement that there was need for clarifying U.S. policy towards the Belgrade Conference and this item will be covered in Tuchman's redraft.

9. At the end of the meeting I had a chance to chat briefly with Tuchman and suggested that we get together to review the present status of Agency production in this field and she indicated that she very much wanted to do so and would be in touch with me.

  
Cord Meyer, Jr.  
SA/DDCI

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Attachments:

1. List of Attendees
2. Member Agencies Drafts of PRM

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February 28, 1977  
4:00 p.m. - Room 305

LIST OF ATTENDEES

NSC

Jessica Tuchman  
Bob Kimmitt  
*Roger Wickman*

State

Patt Derian  
Sandy Vogelgesang

DOD

B/G James M. Thompson

JCS *B/G Prof. Sennwald*  
Admiral Samuel H. Packer

Commerce

Arthur Downey

CIA

Cord Meyer

AID

Phil Birnbaum

USIA

Walter Bastian

UN

John Baker

Justice

Jack Goldklang

Treasury

Dick Erb  
Arnold Nachmanoff

evaluation of the continued need for the NSC

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PRM: US FOREIGN POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Introduction

1. Purpose of PRM: develop a comprehensive US policy on human rights and identify specific actions for implementation of that policy;
2. Roadmap of PRM: provide brief executive summary of major points, problems, and conclusions.

Discussion

1. Objectives of US policy on human rights
  - a. Reasons for US emphasis on human rights (legal, moral, humanitarian, political, etc.);
  - b. Definition of "internationally recognized human rights" and analysis of "consistent pattern of gross violations"
2. General guidelines for US policy (such as intention to speak out or act when we believe US can help those most affected; to reflect concern about human rights in all countries, including our own; etc.)
3. Specific factors to consider in individual cases/countries (brief section noting items relating to the human rights situation itself--such as role of the government in perpetrating human rights violations, seriousness of internal or external threat, level of development--and items relating to US response such as amount of US leverage, likely repercussions to US action, etc.)
4. Tactics and initiatives (range of possible approaches, next steps and effectiveness of actions already taken and those proposed, including reaction to the President's Inaugural and other statements)
  - a. Unilateral measures (such as more vigorous and frequent use of diplomatic approaches; appropriate public statements and symbolic acts; reductions in security assistance and arms sales; reductions in economic aid; initiatives by international financial institutions of which the US is a member; changes in US refugee, asylum and visa policies; more consistently vigorous protection of

human rights of US citizens abroad; better use of information programs; etc.)

- b. Multilateral actions (initiatives the US could take in international organizations, especially the UN and OAS)
  - c. Development of strategy to work more effectively with the Congress
  - d. Work with the private sector (non-governmental organizations in the US and abroad)
  - e. Procedures to ensure a common posture on human rights among all US Government agencies, especially those operating overseas.
5. Questions and proposals requiring further study (either within the government or with the help of outside specialists)

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jessica Tuchman                      DATE: 28 February 1977  
FROM: BG James M. Thompson  
SUBJECT: Human Rights PRM Meeting Monday, February 28, 4:00 p.m.

Draft PRM on Human Rights has been reviewed by DOD as requested. We believe main points are well-covered in outline. However, paragraph 8 as now drafted does not fully address some of DOD's concerns, which should be highlighted in PRM. Specifically, suggest adding paragraph along these lines:

"Review national security aspects of US policies/programs on human rights. Consideration should be given to:

- Impact on US-Soviet detente;
- Impact on friendly states and allies;
- Impact in other areas, such as in relations with PRC and as affecting North/South Korea;
- Impact on US activities/interests in region or country."





WASHINGTON 20547

February 28, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO: Dr. Jessica Tuchman

SUBJECT: PRM Human Rights Draft

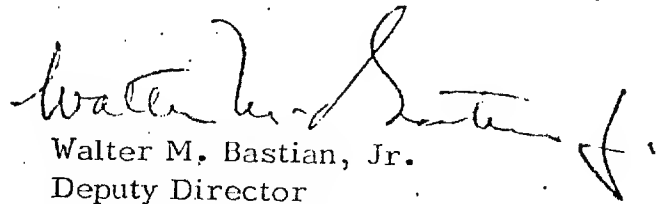
The following is provided in response to subject PRM:

1. Define, from the moral viewpoint, what the United States should set as its goals in greater upholding of human rights around the world.
2. Analyze the probable short and long term positive and negative effects of a series of alternative human rights policies for the United States.

Examine the following options:

- a. Vigorous unilateral statements by the U.S. naming the nations involved;
  - b. Milder or intermittent unilateral statements and actions, naming the nations involved;
  - c. A multilateral policy, going in step with the United Nations, which sometimes names the nations involved;
  - d. A general declaratory policy, naming no names (the mildest course).
3. Analyze the probable result of the suggested analysis which would be a selective policy of promoting human rights, pushing harder on Country A and less on Country B. A very important--perhaps overriding--question is whether consistency is more important than making progress where we can with a selective approach.
  4. Declare that "the human rights policy of the US is the reflection of deeply felt concerns for human rights by the American people, the President and the Congress."

5. In paragraph 6c of subject PRM, include USIA cultural and informational programming.
6. Monitor and provide regular assessments on the most prominent foreign media coverage of U.S. human rights policy and related initiatives.
7. Propose that we use the CSCE Belgrade June 15th meeting as a forum to (a) reinforce our position on the CSCE Final Act's human rights and freedoms provisions -- the so-called "Third Basket", and (b) express concern about allegations that human rights and freedoms incorporated in the Final Act have been denied in several Final Act signatory countries.
8. Propose a program to promote positive efforts to encourage favorable human rights trends and to help foster the growth of free political and social institutions.

  
Walter M. Bastian, Jr.  
Deputy Director  
(Policy and Plans)

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**Remarks:**

I will call a meeting as soon as we receive a redraft of the PRM that Ms. Tuchman is working on.

Cord Meyer, Jr.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

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15 February 1977

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Zbig:

In line with our conversation, this is to inform you that I have appointed Cord Meyer, Jr., Special Assistant to the Deputy Director, to be the Agency's principal referent on matters concerning Human Rights in the international field and he will be your point of contact in the Agency for support on this subject. He may be reached on [ ] and is located in Room 6D52, Headquarters Building.

Faithfully yours,

[ ]  
E. H. Knoche  
Acting Director

cc: Ms. Jessica Tuchman  
National Security Council Staff